

# Near East

WASHINGTON POST  
19 July 1967

## New Gas Charge

ADEN—Egyptian aircraft dropped gas bombs on the town of Hajjah in Northwest Yemen Saturday, killing 50 persons, Yemeni Royalist sources said.

They said another 175 victims were classified as "hopeless" while more than 200 others had suffered severe injuries.

Egypt, which is supporting Republican efforts to suppress a Royalist insurrection, has been accused of dropping gas bombs on 22 occasions.

NEW YORK TIMES  
19 July 1967

## Syria Gets 591 Prisoners In Exchange for 2 Israelis

Special to The New York Times

EL QUNEITRA, Syria, July 17

Israel returned 591 prisoners of war to Syria Monday in exchange for an Israeli pilot who had been shot down and an Israeli Arab who had spent seven years in Syrian prisons. The exchange, arranged by the International Committee of the Red Cross, took place near this Syrian town held by Israeli forces. Syria also returned the bodies of two Israeli pilots and of a civilian who died in prison.

The Syrians included 361 soldiers, 21 of whom were taken to the rendezvous in ambulances. The other prisoners were civilians, including women and children, who were in Jordan when the Israelis conquered the west bank.

An Israeli Army spokesman said he could not say whether there were any more Israelis in Syrian prisons or whether the Israelis still held any Syrians.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
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# Soviets blame Arab 'bourgeois'

By Paul Wohl

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow has come up with a new explanation for the defeat of the Arab armies. It was the fault of the "military bourgeoisie," more interested in their Swiss bank accounts than in the success of the revolution.

This is the line taken by Igor P. Belyayev, Pravda editor, and his newspaper's Cairo correspondent, Yevgeny M. Primakov, in the June 30 issue of Za Rubezhom, a Soviet weekly which normally carries extracts from the foreign press and only exceptionally direct reports from Soviet sources.

The analysis by Messrs. Belyayev and Primakov sheds light on future Soviet policy in the Middle East. The Kremlin's aim is to get rid of such bourgeois elements as big business, landowners, and highly paid administrators, which are to be replaced by representatives of the lower strata of the population.

This is what the masses of the Egyptian people really want, the Soviet public is told. In the other "progressive" Arab countries the situation is said to be similar.

According to Za Rubezhom, what the Arabs need in order to defeat the Israelis and their Western sponsors is a social revolution more or less in the style of the Communist-led East European people's democracies.

Although the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" is avoided, the class concept is in evidence. In line with the Levantine social pattern, power is to be vested in an alliance of fellahin (small peasants), industrial workers, and small tradesmen.

## Dismissals follow purge

These are the masses which, in the critical night of June 9 when the people of Cairo staged a giant demonstration, kept the United Arab Republic's President Nasser in power and imposed a purge of the officer corps leading to the dismissal of 34 generals and more than 650 officers. "The permutation," as this purge is politely called, "continues," we read in Za Rubezhom.

This explanation in Za Rubezhom is very different from the one offered by Moscow in the first confused days following the Arab defeat. Then the officers were not at fault.

The Arab "commanders went to a school of modern warfare, learning from the experience of the most powerful army in the world, the Soviet army. . . . [Their] patriotic spirit is high," Moscow Radio,

"Peace and Progress" explained on June 13.

The crux of the matter lay in the fact that "the ranks of the Arab armies . . . are composed of peasants, most of them with faulty education, not always able to make the best of modern weapons, not always understanding the significance of the social and economic transformations taking place in their country."

## Approach changes

At that time the Soviets even went so far as to compare the poor performance of the Arab rank and file with their own setbacks at the beginning of the Nazi invasion.

Now the whole approach has radically changed. It is the "military bourgeoisie" which has to take the rap. The Soviet equipment was first rate, the soldiers were brave, but the officer corps lacked revolutionary fighting spirit.

The officers' hearts were not in the war: they resented President Nasser's social and economic policies. "There was no single act of betrayal or sabotage by the one or the other general or senior officer." What happened was that "certain generals and senior officers did not accept the ideas of the revolution . . . which aims at a deep social transformation of the country. Taking advantage of their rank, many officers actively opposed political work [propaganda] among the soldiers and non-commissioned officers."

The Air Force, "the most privileged arm of the United Arab Republic's Army," was especially blamed. Its officers traditionally came from "very rich families." When President Nasser in 1961 proposed that, among other things, half of the seats in Parliament should be given to "representatives of workers and fellahin," the officers of the Air Force openly threatened that they would not put up with a state of affairs in which "salesmen of radishes and salad should sit next to honored politicians in the National Assembly."

Then there was the case of "generals and colonels who had been shifted to high posts in industry and in the state administration. . . . These generals and senior officers acquired checkbooks and bank accounts and secretly opened hard-currency accounts with foreign banks. . . . The type of the officer businessman came up . . . a caste which placed its personal interests above those of the state."

## Opposition demonstrated

This "military bourgeoisie" is still so strong that Egyptian newspapers do not dare to write about it, the two Soviet journalists report.

But the people demonstrated their opposition against this caste, and today "many [Egyptians] are convinced that the victorious revolution of the national-liberation movement must break up the old administrative machine." The terms used by Messrs. Belyayev and Primakov are lifted almost textually from Lenin's "State and Revolution."

"In the streets of Cairo there are many young people," the two Soviet writers continue. "The youth of the United Arab Republic is great and wonderful. . . . It only needs to be organized and directed."

"We do not hide [the fact] that there are pessimists," write Messrs. Belyayev and Primakov: "The local [political] reaction is becoming active, and openly seeks to

change the situation to its advantage."

But the two Soviet writers believe that the heritage of the past can be overcome and assert that the mass of the people, its most active and best elements, are in favor of a revolutionary socialist policy. "With the strong support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries they will continue to fight actively (on the internal scene) to overcome the consequences of the Israeli aggression."

The dispatch ends with the expectation that "The Egyptian example will have the greatest influence on the development of the whole so-called third world."

This analysis, telephoned to Za Rubyezhom from Cairo and published under the ominous title, "When War Stands on the Threshold," reflects the Kremlin's new revolutionary hard line in the Middle East as defined by the party's June plenum and on July 12 at the Budapest conference of Communist leaders. It would never have been published, nor would it have received such play, if it merely expressed the personal opinion of the two writers.

NEW YORK TIMES  
19 July 1967

## GROMYKO PASSES U.N. TO DEMAND ISRAELI PULLOUT

Envoys View Letter as Hint  
Moscow Will Carry Issue  
Back to Security Council

BUT GOLDBERG IS FIRM

He Insists Any Resolution  
Must Call on the Arabs  
to End Belligerency

By DREW MIDDLETON  
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., July 18—The Soviet Union declared today that the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territory is necessary to eliminate the danger of a renewed war in the Middle East.

Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, in a letter to Endalkachew Makonnen of Ethiopia, this month's President of the Security Council, also said that military clashes in the Suez Canal area, "provoked by Israel," were "extremely dangerous and could develop into a wider military conflict."

Diplomats interpreted the warning as an attempt to frighten uncertain delegates into support of Soviet demands for Israeli withdrawal and as a sign that if the General Assembly's emergency session

ended without adoption of a resolution to this effect, the Soviet delegation would carry the fight back to the Security Council.

### U. S. View Outlined

The letter bore yesterday's date. In a private meeting at the United States Mission yesterday, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg and the Soviet Ambassador to Washington, Anatoly F. Dobrynin, discussed their Governments' positions on peace-making in the Middle East.

Mr. Dobrynin was told that the United States would not support any General Assembly resolution that did not offer an end of the Arab-declared state of belligerency in the Middle East in return for a withdrawal of Israeli forces.

This link is affirmed in somewhat different terms in a new Latin-American draft resolution being considered by various delegations today.

Mr. Gromyko charged Israel with bombing and shelling towns in the United Arab Republic along the Suez Canal, declaring that the raids showed Israel was continuing to carry out its "policy of aggression" toward the United Arab Republic and other Arab states.

### Charter Violation Charged

Israel's continued occupation of Arab territory, the Foreign Minister said, is a "flagrant violation" of the United Nations Charter and an "infringement of the sovereignty and territorial integrity" of the Arab states.

"Therefore," the letter went on, "in order to prevent further military clashes and to eliminate the danger of a renewed war in the Middle East, Israel must immediately withdraw her forces from the territory of the Arab states occupied by them."

Mr. Gromyko asked that his letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council. This indicated to Western diplomats that the Soviet delegation intended to use the letter as a basis for argument when, as most expect, the issue is referred to the Council by the deadlocked General Assembly.

The Soviet delegation announced tonight that Mr. Gromyko had sent the General Assembly letter couched in similar terms. The precedence given the Security Council in Mr. Gromyko's correspondence strengthened the diplomatic conviction that the Soviet delegation would now concentrate on the 15-member Council.

If the Russians look back to the last sessions of the Council before they summoned the Assembly, one ambassador said, "they must be kicking themselves, for some at least of the

things they have tried to get in the Assembly were within their grasp then."

Mr. Dobrynin was reported to have had no success in his efforts to induce Mr. Goldberg to alter the United States position. Mr. Goldberg said that any resolution ultimately adopted must be constructive, balancing withdrawal with the end of a state of belligerency.

Mr. Dobrynin was told that the United States still supported the amended draft resolution circulated by the Latin American delegations. Mr. Goldberg said that any resolution enabling the Arabs to continue the state of belligerency—including the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba against Israeli shipping—would in the United States' view re-create the situation that led to the war in June.

The Assembly is to reconvene on Thursday. The American delegation would rather see the Assembly approve a procedural resolution, referring the Middle Eastern matter back to the Security Council, than adopt a resolution that would widen the gap between the sides.

### Speculation Is Stirred

Mr. Dobrynin's appearance at the United States Mission provoked considerable attention in diplomatic circles. Some diplomats have speculated for the last two weeks that Nikolai T. Fedorenko, the Soviet Union's chief representative at the United Nations, is out of favor with his superiors, perhaps because it was he who advised Moscow to request the emergency session of the General Assembly on the Middle East.

The amended Latin-American draft resolution includes two key paragraphs.

The first affirms the principle that the conquest of territory by war is unacceptable under the United Nations Charter, and that consequently the withdrawal of Israeli forces "is expected."

The second recognizes the political sovereignty and territorial independence of United Nations member states as well as their right to be free from the threat of war.

Consequently, the end of a state of war by all states in the Middle East "is expected."

The draft resolution also asks the Security Council to continue to examine all aspects of the issue and to use the United Nations presence in the Middle East to achieve a just solution of two other problems: the future of the refugees in the area and free transit through international waterways.

As it stands, the draft offers Israel two assurances on the freedom of traffic through the Strait of Tran into the Gulf of Aqaba.

One is the request for end of state of belligerency. For it is under that state that the United Arab Republic believes it has the right to blockade the strait.

The other assurance lies in the request to the Security